

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

September 16, 1976

NO. 443



REMARKS OF  
 PRESIDENT KENNETH DAVID KAUNDA  
 OF ZAMBIA  
 AND  
 THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER  
 SECRETARY OF STATE  
 AT STATE HOUSE  
 LUSAKA, ZAMBIA  
 SEPTEMBER 16, 1976

PRESIDENT KAUNDA:

Mr. Secretary of State, may I say first of all welcome to Zambia again. We welcome you in the name of the party, Government and people of Zambia because we like to believe, Mr. Secretary, that your President, you yourself, and your Administration are interested in helping the peoples of southern Africa to find a peaceful solution to their problems. Indeed, we pray very hard that you should succeed, because if you don't succeed, I can only use Mr. Vorster's own words "the alternative will be too ghastly to contemplate." On our part I can assure you that we want to seek peace, but we want peace for every human being in this part of the world. We want peace with honor, we want peace with justice and freedom and independence. Less than that is not peace at all. At least we would not contribute to the type of peace that is simply the excess of war. We want peace, Mr. Secretary of State, that means dignity and man's honor, peace and freedom and independence and justice. These are the principles for which your Governments stands and I believe this is what has propelled your Administration to send you out here once again. In the next few days we will be able to know whether your mission will succeed or not. Fortunately for us, our stand is very clear. Some few years back, leaders of East and Central Africa met here in Lusaka and they worked out what was being called the Lusaka Manifesto on southern Africa. This manifesto became an OAU document. Later on it became a UN document and both your great country and mine are members of the UN and therefore we must subscribe to the contents of this document. This document states very clearly that Africa, black Africa, accepts men and women of all races. We want them to make their homes there because not so much because of their skills but that they are fellow human beings, made by the same creator as the one who made us. This document states very clearly that we accept a South Africa as independent, but abhor and indeed, we will fight apartheid in any shape or form. I would have thought, Mr. Secretary, that Mr. Vorster would help us by accepting the sincerity, the honest purpose behind this document and help you because, by the accident of your birth, you happen to be white and where we failed because

**For further information contact:**

- 2 -

we carried the wrong color, have had the right passport and therefore, I hope that he will be able to see sense and accept the importance of your mission. Failing that, Mr. Secretary of State, I can only use his own words - "the alternative would be too ghastly to contemplate." We demand what's right and fair and just to all men over the question of Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe-to-be. Demand what is fair, just and fair to men, over the question of Namibia. We want majority rule immediately. We want complete destruction of the abominable policy, policy if it is at all of apartheid, philosophy if it is at all. If we fail to get that peacefully, the manifesto says, fight. We pray very strongly that Mr. Secretary of State has informed President Ford that this, that for us there can be no compromise over the issue of freedom, independence, peace and justice. Not only the peace, we don't accept that.

Mr. Secretary of State, we have no romantic views about armed struggle, none at all. We don't like to see lives wasted, but what alternative are we left with, except to fight, to help obtain for the people of Rhodesia what we have for ourselves. Yes, we will fight, until the last man if necessary. We feel strongly because there is no other reason why the black people of Rhodesia and Namibia and South Africa should be treated any differently from how we treat ourselves here. God made them black; it is not a sin, Mr. Secretary, to be black. So we must fight. If the mission fails, we will fight. I have made it clear several times to your Ambassadors here and Ambassadors in western countries that the system they support, financial means, is not Christian. I have said on the personal bit, we can't understand those people, the white people of Rhodesia, white men in South Africa, white men in Namibia calling themselves Christian. I can't. I don't know that God they pray to. I don't understand him. The God I believe in is a God of love of human races as a whole. He does not discriminate. In short, what I am saying, Mr. Secretary of State, if you fail, if your mission fails, we will fight. We don't make arms here; no African country makes arms, so we have to get them from somewhere else. The West won't give them to us. We will get them from whoever is ready to give them to us. It is not a matter of being neglected. We hope your mission succeeds. You are here for the second time within a space of six months. We accept your sincerity but I am afraid your mission will need more than sincerity and honest purpose. You are dealing with people who don't live in this world. They live in a different world. I don't know what your Ambassadors have told you about South Africa, but I am sure you have read enough to know why we feel so strongly about this. Compromise, there is none, Mr. Secretary. Your mission has got to succeed. If it fails, we fight. The destruction of life and property that will follow is miserable. Those who have invested in Namibia will have to accept the dire responsibility for what happens. It's really incredible. I don't understand the West at all. I have met the Secretary

- 3 -

of State and I hope that your ability to impress on your fellow men, in this case your fellow Westerners, will be able to impress them so much that they can act with you on this issue. In my opinion--it is humble-- I don't think the U.S. acting alone will succeed. You might have to call upon some of your colleagues, western countries to join you, but time is not with you. Who knew that I would ever meet Mr. Vorster, shake his hand -- all in the course of the manifesto on southern Africa I have to do that. Literally, I went to Cape Town. I did not go there physically, but I met Mr. Vorster here on Zambian soil. I have never dreamt of doing that. But I knew well that failure to negotiate with him -- I can't do more on behalf of the Zambian people to their party, other than to impress upon you Mr. Secretary, that your mission is very important. You only have a few days, not weeks, to succeed. If you fail, we shall reach a point of no return. May God help you in your mission.

SECRETARY KISSINGER:

Mr. President, I appreciate very much the very moving words you have just spoken. I appreciate them all the more because in describing events they are often cast in cold political abstract terms. You, Mr. President, have described correctly what the fundamental issues are. They are the dignity of man of whatever color and of whatever race. They are the justice of the people to each other of whatever color and of whatever race. If truly spoken of peace, it must be a peace that all, the rich and the poor and whatever race, can participate in and can feel that it is their own. There is no stability in oppression and there is no permanence in injustice. I will never forget our meetings on the occasion of your visit to Washington when you foretold the prospects that were ahead for all of mankind in southern Africa. We realize that what you have said is only too true and the President has sent me on this mission despite the inevitable preoccupations of our national elections, because he shares your views that time is running out. And if it is running out we have an obligation to ourselves, to our values, and to the rest of humanity, to make the best effort of which we are capable. You can be sure that I am conscious of the responsibility we face. I don't know whether we can succeed in an effort that others have attempted for over a decade and have not brought to a conclusion, but we will receive impetus from the knowledge that if we bring peace many lives will be saved. Many aspirations can be fulfilled. And if it should be said some day that the people of southern Africa from some point on could live in justice, in mutual respect between the races, and in human dignity, I would like to believe that it may have started here six months ago in Lusaka and that it was continued here today in Lusaka.

I will return on Sunday evening or Monday morning to report to you, Mr. President, about the progress we have made, and I

- 4 -

pray for all of us, for your people and for our people that I can bring you encouraging news. Justice is not divisible, peace cannot exist in only corners of the globe without leading to grave dangers. The United States has now found itself in the position where no one else was available to play this role. We will play it with dedication, with conviction, inspired by the values of human dignity that you have avowed here, and as I said before I left the United States, it will never be said that we failed for lack of effort. And if we succeed we will know that those who had the courage to seek peace for a decade, those who have the courage to make efforts at reconciliation that must have been very painful, will have paved the way and will have the ultimate responsibility for their execution. We have moved together this far, Mr. President, and I look forward to our further association. I want to thank you on behalf of my colleagues for having given us this opportunity to be of some service.

\* \* \* \* \*